12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

143 This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that " Bush " features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

144 On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives[1], but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives[2] to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, " Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not " Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the " Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such " Hottentot " types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned " investigations have not " as yet " revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

---

[1] See historical section.

[2] One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee 1912/1913: Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 139; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushme 1 FX 10

B H 144 174

that the languages of both peoples belong to the same languag family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentiall alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originall been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type— to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, an above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence o Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fac that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottento languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at leas of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); idem, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Seidelmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Howitt, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kingon, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hotsa hie* (? *Hoisa Kaise*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

But the intimate and prolonged contact into which they[1] now came with European culture ultimately resulted in their complete disintegration. Wars with the settlers and imported diseases, such as smallpox, led to a rapid decline in the numbers of the people. Even more effective, however, in destroying their original status was the very considerable amount of miscegenation that from the first years of the settlement began to take place between them and the white settlers and imported East Indian slaves. It is questionable whether at the present time a single pure-blooded individual of this division can still be met with, and naturally all semblance of their original culture and tribal groupings has long since vanished.

A few of the groups, resenting the intrusion of the Europeans, early began to trek away inland from the vicinity of the settlement. One of these groups, the Kora, which moved away towards the end of the seventeenth century, is said to have formed the nucleus of the present Korana division. Another group, the Grigriqua or Chariguriqua, after receiving a considerable infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it was gradually joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community.[1]

The line of division between the CAPE and the EASTERN HOTTENTOTS is not easy to draw. From the records of the early travellers it appears, however, that the groups which can be regarded as belonging to the latter included, amongst others, the *Inqua*, probably in the present district of Aberdeen, the *Damaqua*, between the Gamtoos and Swartkops Rivers, and the *Gonaqua*, at first apparently an insignificant

[1] On the history of the Hottentots in relation to the European settlers, cf. G. M. Theal, *History and Ethnography of Africa, South of the Zambesi, before 1795*, 3 vols., London, 1910, *passim*; Fritsch, op. cit., 449 sqq.; Barthel, op. cit., 20–33; W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question, a Historical Survey*, London, 1927. The early history of the Griqua is fully described by Sawe, op. cit., pp. 316–403; cf. also Fritsch, op. cit., 376–84.

[1] [i.e., the Cape Hottentots.—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

619

tribe, who by the middle of the eighteenth century had become the most powerful group of Hottentots in the east, and extended from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River. Very little is actually known of these people, especially as regards their social habits and customs. They are said to have differed slightly in appearance from the Cape Hottentots, the result of intermixture with the neighbouring Bantu, and their language was also different in some respects. They have now apparently all been exterminated or absorbed by other races. They were the first Hottentots to come into contact with the Bantu invaders along the south coast, and it is largely as a result of both conflict and intermixture with these more powerful neighbours that they have become so completely effaced.[1]

The KORANA or !KORA are, as already noted, traditionally the descendants of the Kora or Gorachouqua, who, originally resident in the Cape Peninsula, began to draw away inland from the Dutch settlement towards the end of the seventeenth century. Their history for the last two hundred years has been one of continual strife with the Europeans on the one hand, and later with the Bantu as well. During the early half of the eighteenth century they gradually moved north-eastwards towards the Middle Orange, and by the end of the century they had been forced across that river to seek refuge round the junction of the Vaal and the Harts. They were found in 1813 by Campbell in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Old Lithakao, and later on settled at Bethany, under the influence of the Berlin Mission. For a time they managed to preserve their original status, and by about 1850 are said to have been divided into seventeen different groups numbering altogether some 20,000 persons. But by 1870 their tribal units had also become completely destroyed, chiefly as the result of disastrous fights with the neighbouring BaSuto. They have since declined considerably in numbers, and no semblance of their original organization now survives. They have mixed freely with the Bantu and with half-breeds, and although it is said that a number of racially pure individuals are still to be found, the majority of the present Korana have certainly a good deal of foreign blood in them.[2]

[144]

The fourth and best-known division of the Hottentots are the

[1] A summary of the early literature relating to these tribes is given by J. Hewitt, "Notes relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Eastern Provinces," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), pp. 304 sqq., esp. 308–15. The most useful account of the Gonaqua is in F. le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance dans les Années 1780–5*, 2 vols., Paris, 1790, esp. vol. ii, pp. 28 sqq.

[2] Fritsch, op. cit., 366–76; Shaw, op. cit., 267–315.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

619 besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, [144] before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white [191] blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Orlams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *//Aixa //ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the */Hobesen* or *Witbooi*s, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the */Aman* or *Bethanie Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the */Hei /khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei /khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange [177] River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been [144] completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older [191] people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the OvaHerero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have [144] further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

161 These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

161 the latest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,892, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 56,000.

144 Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a dis-
161 appearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently
177 in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griqua, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably affected by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 22–'27), p. 28.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (ed. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

differences between the two peoples can be detected. Amongst themselves the Hottentots vary but slightly, save, of course, where there has been much recent intermixture with other peoples. Among the Korana, for instance, who have absorbed a good deal of Bantu blood, one may often notice individuals who differ from the normal Hottentot type in being of a darker complexion and in having a greater development of hair on the head and face, coarser features and broader noses. But in pure-blooded Hottentots the physical type is on the whole fairly uniform in all the divisions. The following description may therefore be regarded as a general survey of those characters which can be looked upon as common to all people of the normal Hottentot type.[1]

In stature they are mostly of medium height. The fullest series of measurements are those given by Schultze for the Naman. He found that in 73 men the mean height was 162·4 cm., although the individual statures ranged from a minimum of 150·5 cm. to a maximum of 176·5 cm.; while in 27 women the mean was 149·7 cm. (min. 135·5, max. 162·5). The measurements recorded by other writers and of other groups of Hottentots correspond closely with these figures. The Hottentots thus appear to be appreciably taller than the Cape Bushmen, but only slightly taller than the North-Western Bushmen; while, on the other hand, they are on the whole somewhat smaller than the North-Eastern Bushmen.

Their skin colour is predominantly a light brownish-yellow, somewhat lighter in some cases than even in the Cape Bushmen. The skin itself is dry, and on the whole has little adipose tissue; it also displays the same propensity to fold as in the case of the Bushmen. In young people it is drawn smoothly over the muscles and bones, and has a certain pleasing and taut appearance. But in adults, and in particular in women who have borne children, its appearance is completely changed: the skin of the abdomen becomes flabby, and deep wrinkles readily form there, on the chest and on the face. There is little hair on the body; the arm-pits, pubes, and other parts are very sparsely covered with it, while the beard and moustache in men are only feebly developed. The hair is black and short, and has the same "peppercorn" formation which characterizes the Bushmen. It rarely turns

[1] The most exhaustive analysis of the physical characters of the Hottentots is found in the recent work of L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, esp. pp. 147–86. Of the earlier works the more important are Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 271–91 *et passim*, and E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*, Jena, 1913, esp. pp. 57–134 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

L. Schultze

HOTTENTOT (ǂAUNIN) MEN WITH HAMITIC FEATURES

[face p. 64

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13

[facing page 647]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aunin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Haboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 50-'77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells. for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of " peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, Great and Little Karichuriquas, and Hosaas. To help him he has a subordinate king, and still another man, the third by rank in the kingdom. The *koehque* or king of the Saldanhars who reigned in the year 1661 was named Oldasoä, his subordinate king Gonnomoä, and the third lord of the kingdom Koukosoä.[29]) The subordinate king Gonnomoä our countrymen call the "Black Captain," because he always smears his face blacker and dirtier than the others. He is a coarse and corpulent man, married to three wives, by whom he has begotten many children.[30]) On the other hand the *koehque* or king Oldasoä, who died in 1661 after a long and lingering illness,[31]) never had more than a single wife. He was a man of fine stature and build, and very modest, who also never lifted arms against our countrymen. So, too, the third lord of the kingdom is of fairly good appearance and courteous in manner. King Oldasoä left behind a daughter named Namis, winning in appearance and with a very beautiful figure,[32]) except that her nose is somewhat flat, as in all these people.

GREAT AND LITTLE KARICHURIQUAS AND HOSAAS.

The Great and Little Karichuriquas and Hosaas[33]) live mostly in and about the valleys of Saldanha Bay. They

---

at the sea (*-hurib*, sea). Van Riebeeck says of them: "They chiefly dwell between Saldanha Bay and midway between Robben and Dassen Islands, about 4 or 5 hours' walk away from the coast inland. They had been subjects of Oedasoa, but had rebelled against him. They used to be his cattle herds, but afterwards they appropriated all the animals to themselves. For that reason all the other tribes of Hottentoos refuse to acknowledge them as a people who have a Choeque or Hunque, i.e. a hereditary king or chief" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 240; cf. D., Apr. 20-23, 1661). This group, after receiving a strong infiltration of white blood, moved away to the north about the middle of the eighteenth century, and established itself at the Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand under the leadership of Adam Kok. Here it gradually was joined by other half-breed Hottentots, or "Bastards", a name by which these people now began to call themselves. From the Kamiesberg they moved on to Pella on the Lower Orange, and then to the Middle Orange Valley, where they were found in 1813 by the missionary John Campbell, who induced them to resume their old but almost forgotten and now mutilated name of *Griqua*. In the years that followed, the Griqua, under a succession of able leaders, played an important part in the political history of South Africa, but all their power has now vanished, although they still survive as a strong community (Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 46). The name *Hosaas* appears in Valentyn's map of South Africa (1726) as that of a tribe lying just north of the Berg R., between the Kochoquas and the "Little Grigriquas"; but van Riebeeck (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93-4) speaks only of the "Little Chariguriquas called Hosamans," which would suggest that *Hosa* was the name of the Little Chariguriqua chief or leader.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

De Hottentots, genaemt *Namaquas*, leggen tegenwoordigh ontrent tachentigh of tnegentigh mijlen oost-noord-oostwaerts van de kaep van goeder hope, maer zeer verre te landewaerts in.

Des jaers zestien hondert en een-en-zestigh, wierden door het Opperhooft van 't Nederlants Fort, de Heer *Rietbeek*, dertien Neerlanders, verzien met vier draegh ossen, om te vernemen of by hen geen gout of eenige andere rare kostelijkheden te vinden waren, derwaerts gezonden. Zy vonden hen ontrent tachtigh of negentigh mijlen noord-oost-waerts van de kaep te lande in, en wierden, by hen komende, met tekenen van alle vrientschap en een bly gelaet ontfangen, en met schapen vereert. Desgelijx wert hun aenkomste begroet met een ongemeen en raer musijk, van ontrent hondert muzikanten, die alle, ieder met een riet, doch van ongelijke lengte, in de hant, in een kring, (daer een man in 't midden met een stok de maet sloegh,) stonden, en daer uit met blazen, een zulk heerlijk grof en fijn geluit deden voortkomen, als of ieder riet een trompet de marine waer geweest. Na het eindigen des gespels, 't welk twee of drie uuren duurende, en in groote vrolijkeit toeging, wierden d'onzen op 's koninghs-verzoek in zijn huis gebraght, en daer met melk en schapen-vleesch onthaelt, daer en tegen d'onzen den koning met wat koper, en kralen, brandewijn en tabak vereerden, die de koning noch de *Namaquas* noit hadden zien suigen, maer leerden zulx alle in korten wijle, tot vrouwen en kinderen toe. Eindelijk wiert hen door den koning een plaets even buiten hun leger aengewezen, om nacht en dagh-rust te houden.

---

41) First mentioned, under the name Namana, in the list of tribes given to van Riebeeck by Eva (D., Oct. 31, 1657). Further information was obtained from Harry (D., Oct. 31, 1657) and Soeswa (D., Dec. 16, 1660), but the Dutch did not actually come into contact with them until 1661, when they were encountered by Cruythoff's expedition (D., March 11, 1661). Van Riebeeck's notes on them, written in 1662 for his successor (*Letters desp.*, iii, 241, 243-4), are consequently far more accurate than what he has to say about them in a letter written to the Chamber of Seventeen in 1659 (*Letters desp.*, iii, 93). In later years the Dutch learned to distinguish two groups: the Little Namaqua, living in what is now Little Namaqualand south of the Orange River, and the Great Namaqua, living north of the Orange River in the southern parts of what is now South West Africa. Both groups at times visited the settlement at Table Bay, and the area over which they wandered seems to have been very wide. Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, but their tribal cohesion and culture have been completely destroyed by contact with the whites, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot FX13

NAMA

NAMAQUAS.

The Hottentots named Namaquas[41]) live at the present time about eighty or ninety miles east-north-east of the Cape, but very far inland. In 1661 the commander of the Dutch fort, Heer Riebeeck, sent thirteen men there, with four pack oxen, to see if no gold or other valuable objects were to be found amongst them.[42]) They came across the Namaquas about eighty or ninety miles inland north-east of the Cape, and on going up to them were received with every sign of friendship and welcome, and presented with sheep. Their arrival was also greeted with an uncommonly curious musical performance. About one hundred musicians, each with a hollow reed of different length from the others, stood in a ring, in the centre of which a man beat time with a stick; and by blowing on these reeds produced as pleasant a harmony as if each reed were a trumpet of the marines. After the end of this performance, which lasted two or three hours and passed off with considerable gaiety, our men were at the king's request brought into his hut, and there entertained with milk and sheep's flesh. In return they presented the king with some copper, red beads, brandy and tobacco, which neither he nor his people had ever seen smoked, but they all learned this in a short time, even the women and children. Finally the king showed them a spot just outside his camp where they could rest and sleep.[43])

A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves. In South West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down, although for the most part they still retain their own language; and here too all of them have a good deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans and other whites (cf. Schapera, *Khoisan Peoples*, 48-9).

[42]) This was the expedition under Pieter Cruythoff, which left the Fort on Jan. 30, 1661, and returned on March 10. Its Journal, written by P. van Meerhoff, is appended to the Dagverhaal of van Riebeeck (entry of March 11, 1661, with additional remarks obtained orally from the travellers), and reprinted verbatim in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, i, 46-63.

[43]) Their reception by the Namaqua is fully described by Meerhoff in his journal of the expedition, upon which Dapper's informant has evidently drawn.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

121 ing these external features, their cumulative effect are such as to produce evidence which can be regarded as sound and acceptable. Fortunately the cultural and general ethnological differences between Bantu, Hottentot and Bushman were sufficiently marked to be recognisable by ordinary men like the early travellers. Hence the reliability of this evidence. This is especially true of the information about interbreeding which assumes great importance in the case of the Korana. Although interbreeding was noticed and commented upon by some of the authors, in the case of certain Chwana chiefs, it was not usually a phenomenon of sufficient interest to them to be worthy of detailed consideration. Indeed, in the casual recording of such events scattered through the books, we must not expect the author to have been impressed with the scientific importance of his story nor will we expect to find systematic statistical data in an age when the importance of such data was as yet unrealised. The chief value of this class of information from the physical anthropological standpoint lies in the evidence supplied of inter-tribal contacts at early periods, with suggestions and, occasionally, actual mention of the occurrence of interbreeding. The historical evidence will be corroborated (in the case of the Links Korana) in the examination, at a later stage of this study, of their physical characteristics. They will be found to be extremely hybridised, despite the fact that the Links were unquestionable "Hottentots." The majority of the group in question may not however show to-day the same amount of "typical Hottentot" features, as they seem to have done in former times.

B. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF RACIAL ADMIXTURE AMONGST THE KORANA

127 144 In the records there is ample proof of racial impurity caused by interbreeding, in so far as the whole Korana race—and not merely the Links division—is concerned. That impurity is due to contact with Bantu, Bush and Griqua (to a lesser degree). The evidence of mixture is afforded by the writings of the old travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who have enabled us to fill out the picture of Korana racial history and to extend it beyond the limits set by present-day investigation, from which alone we might infer but could not actually prove our story.

1. *With Bantu:*

When we come to consider the historical data, we find that it presents us with an unbroken chain of evidence stretching from the earliest times to the present day, all testifying to the early commencement and steady

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

127
144

progress of Bantu-Korana hybridisation, although there is no question anywhere in this earlier literature, in spite of this hybridisation, concerning the Korana being Hottentots. Wikar (1778) (13) was the first white man known to describe the Korana as a separate group to us. Even in his time the process of hybridisation was already taking place. In his " dagverhaal " (diary) he mentions the " tweeling volk," a tribe of mixed Bechuana-Korana ancestry, some of whom lived with the Korana, some with the Bechuana, and they intermarried with both, " daarom zyn der veel verbasterd," as he puts it.

That such a mixed bastardised tribe of considerable importance already existed at that time, shows that intermixture had begun at least two generations before Wikar arrived there, if not earlier.

Subsequent authors, while not always discussing intermarriage, all agree in that they substantially confirm these facts. The Government commissioners Truter and Somerville (1801) (14) even go so far as to say that " what the Gonacqua are to the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana seem to be to the Northward, a mixed breed between the Hottentot and the Kaffir."

Another expression of what was happening is Lichtenstein's statement that " many of the Bechuana understand the Korana language " (1805) (15), while Burchell (1811-12) (16), and Campbell (1813, 1820) (17) both say that they found Korana and Bechuana living together in close association.

Thompson (1823) (18) tells us even more definitely that the " Korana lived in close alliance with the Betchuana " and cites an instance of a Korana woman married to a Bechuana (see below).

Coming closer to our own times we find much interesting information of the same kind in the communications of various missionaries who came into contact with the Korana during the nineteenth century. The missionary Lemué (1840) (19) for instance, speaks of Korana and Bechuana living together at Mamusa (the residence of the Taaibosch tribe), and Schmidt (1847) (20) states the same of the Links tribe then living at the Bloemhof Saltpan.

Travellers in these regions during the middle of the 19th century seem to have been much impressed by the mixed nature of the Korana as shown by their physical features. Chapman (21) fell in with some Korana on the Valsch River and says of them " the inhabitants seem to have a mixture of Hottentot, Bushmen and Kaffir blood, their features being more akin to the Hottentot—flat noses, wide mouths and thick lips,

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

127 high and protruding cheek-bones and small eyes." Anderson (see later) who was there ten years later, mentions admixture with Bushman blood only. 144

From the accounts of later authors, however, we gather that the immediate contact of and occurrence of intermarriage between Korana and Bechuana was a well known fact and caused little surprise. It was rather taken for granted (see e.g. Holub (22), and Bloemhof Commission Report (23)).

Such a close relationship of the two tribes, resulted as we have seen, in a good deal of intermarriage taking place, and on examining the literature, we find several cases actually quoted.

In the first place we have Wikar's story (see above) where a whole tribe resulting from such mixed unions is spoken of. Then we have Thompson (op. cit.) who mentions *Mahuta*, daughter of a Kora chieftain, and wife of *Motibe*, headman of the Batlaping tribe. There is also the case of *Matlabane*, cited in the Bloemhof Commission's Report (23), whose great-grandmother and whose wife were both Korana women. The Korana chief *Massow* at the Witgatboom meeting (1869) states that "*Mashua*, a Batlaping, married a Korana woman..... The Batlaping and Korana lived together at Nokananie in consequence of that marriage.... They fought ..... after that they intermarried and so it comes that *Motive* (i.e. Motibe, see above) and many others are the children of Korana women. Molehaban too. Matlaban's great-grandfather is also from a Korana woman."

But it is to be noted that such intermixture seems from the above mainly to have been on the side of the Bechuana. No instance is given of a Korana man marrying a Bechuana woman although we know that this does occur at the present day. No. 4 (see table of measurements) is the son of a Links father and a Chuana mother.

2. *With Bushmen:*

We must not forget that during this period the Korana were mixing freely with their other neighbours as well (see Burchell, Chapman, etc, loc. cit.)

Campbell for instance when on his first journey to South Africa, records under date September 3rd " In his kraal (*Cornelius Kok's* kraal, that is) there are Orlams, Coranas, and Bushmen." In August 1813 he estimated the number of Korana at Griquatown and in the surrounding districts under the protection of the Griqua as 1341, making the total of

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Griqua and Korana 2607. *Hawena* the then chief of the Links tribe actually told Campbell in 1820 that " Coranna men frequently marry Bushwomen." 127 144

In 1837 the process was still going on, for we learn from a select committee on South African aborigines of this period that " the numbers of the Griqua were swollen by many refugees, among them being Korana and Bushmen."

Nearly sixty years after Campbell, Anderson (24) says that " there are many Hottentots, Koranna and Bushmen living along the river banks. They have so intermixed by marriage that there is little difference between them. Some are of the opinion that the Korana are the true Hottentots but the people as a general rule are taller and of a lighter colour than the real (sic) Cape Hottentots, but as I have stated from the intermarriages, it is difficult to draw the line."

As for the Cape Hottentots Anderson speaks of, they were by that time already so mixed with Negro, Malay and even White blood that we cannot really rely on his use of them as a standard of comparison with the Korana.

Also more recently in Meinhof (23) we have the statement from the lips of an old Korana, *Benjamin Kats*, that his people frequently took Bushwomen to wife.

3. *With Griqua :*

When they came upon the scene, the Griqua (themselves very mixed as the above quotations show) also helped, though to a somewhat lesser extent, to destroy any racial purity to which the Korana as a people might have pretended. In this connection it is interesting to read that the Griqua chief *Waterboer* numbered Koranas among his subjects as well as Griqua and a few Bantu (see Bloemhof Commission's Report (23)).

The Bloemhof Commission Report is a veritable mine of information concerning the prevalence of racial admixture between all the racial stocks in that region. Were it not for the limitations of space many more references from this source, all bearing on our problem, could be quoted. Those interested in the matter are referred to that document more particularly.

As far as the Korana are concerned the effects of this intermixture, with the Bantu at any rate, seems to have been at first of a very gradual nature, for it did not manifest itself in the external appearance of the

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

127 Korana until fairly recently, that is if we are to rely upon the evidence of
144 Daniell and Burchell. The artist Daniell who accompanied Truter and Somerville on their journey to the Bechuana in 1801 was the first to depict the Korana. He portrays several very light-coloured individuals of both sexes with high cheek-bones and faces coming to a point at the chin, in fact persons indistinguishable from the "typical Hottentot." So also does Burchell (14).

It is not till we come closer to our own times that we find a trained scientist, G. Fritsch, (27) turning his attention to the influence of Bush and Bantu blood on the physical anthropology of the Korana.

The chapter on the Korana in his classical work "Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas," still in many respects the best general work available on South African anthropology, shows that he clearly recognises the admixture in their physical characters. He emphasises his conclusion that they are basically "Hottentots," even if they do not show the typical characters (merkmalen) so well as the true "Colonial" Hottentots or the Namaqua.

Summary

The sum total of the historical evidence is that the Korana are "Hottentots"; that they have mixed and intermarried with their Bantu and Bushman neighbours for as long as we have any record and even before this, but that this intermixture was apparently not sufficiently manifested in their external appearance to be commented upon till well on in the 19th century.

There is also ground in the literature for asserting that the Links tribe mixed more freely with the Bushmen than did the other tribes of the Korana people.

Still it is impossible to make any definite statement about the physical anthropology of the Korana before 1872, nor is it possible to assess with any degree of accuracy even the relative amount of intermixture that has taken place from the historical data alone, owing to the lack of statistical and somatometrical evidence in the documents we have just reviewed.

We can, however, be certain that they are not a pure race. They have mixed freely with Bushmen and Bantu for the last 200 years at least. To what extent that admixture has proceeded only physical data can now supply a clue.

We will therefore have to rely on observation of the Korana as he is to-day for any quantitative information as opposed to qualitative.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Hitherto I have used the term "Hottentot" without in any way defining the type, and I think that it would be as well to indicate before going any further, the meaning of this term, so that it can serve us as a criterion of the racial affinities of the Links. The best definition available is one by Fritsch (27), which seems to be a combination of his historical researches and his own observations :—" The general character of the Koi-koin (i.e., Hottentots), is that of a people with a characteristically fallow, yellow-brown skin colour, very matted, twisted hair, narrow forehead, high cheek-bones, a pointed chin, of middling height, and of slender, though good build, with small hands and feet ; the skull is platystenocephalic."

Such a description agrees on the whole with the Hottentots described and depicted by Daniell, Burchell and other travellers.

The Rev. George Schmidt of Genadendal (28) has left us a description of the Hottentots of his time which is substantially the same, though not so full as Fritsch's : " *Die Statur ist verschieden, jedoch mehrentheils klein, die Farbe rötlich, im Gelblicht spielend ; die Haar wie schwarze Wolle ; die Lippen vortstehend ; die Nase platt, wie den Mohren.*" So that we can continue to use this term as it has been used by Europeans from very early times to indicate the people whose language differentiated them from the Bantu on the one hand and the Bushmen on the other. But if we are to give this term any physical anthropological meaning we must necessarily have before us the Hottentots as defined by Fritsch, and described and depicted both by Fritsch and by these old travellers such as Daniell, Le Vaillant and others.

Here, however, a difficulty arises. We can easily differentiate the Bantu from the Bushmen and Hottentots ; whether the Bushman is physically the same as the Hottentot or not, is more difficult to say, the evidence on this point being somewhat inconclusive.

The authors we have discussed above differentiated between the two races as far as language, culture, and external appearance went. The earliest settlers and travellers on the other hand, did not apparently consider the Bushman as a separate race (29), and this is in accordance with modern practice (see Dart (12) and Shrubsall (30)).

Sparrman (31) was the first to give us any idea that such a distinction could be drawn, and among later writers we find Fritsch (27) and especially Broom (3) maintaining that the Bushman is of quite a different physical conformation to the Hottentot.

I do not propose to go into this question in any detail, but I think that for the purpose of this study the " Bush type " as defined by Drennan

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

(11) and Gear (32), which may or may not be co-extensive with the Bushman proper in its distribution, can be regarded as sufficiently distinguished from the Hottentot both in form and features to be recognisable when it occurs in a Hottentot tribe. The average Links Korana is found (see later) to be practically identical with this "Bush type."[2]

A Korana may be defined as a person definitely known to belong to the Korana division of the Hottentots.

This brings me to the matter of nomenclature. It does not seem to me justifiable to use such terms as Hottentot, Bushman, and Korana, without any qualification. They are linguistic and cultural terms after all, and such terms rarely correspond exactly enough with the racial group to eliminate all possible sources of confusion. Recognising these difficulties, previous writers, e.g. Shrubsall (30) and Laing (37) have used the term "San" race as an alternative to "Bush" race.

A specific instance of the confusion made possible in this way is seen in the fact that the Korana have been described as "Australoid Hottentots," yet we shall see subsequently that one group of them is somatometrically indistinguishable from the "Bush type."

It is therefore most convenient for the present to use the terms referred to in the perhaps loose, yet understandable manner in which they have been defined above.

C. PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ON SOME MEMBERS OF THE LINKS KORANA

What I have discovered by personal observation corroborates the historical evidence in all points but one. I find that the Bantu, who as we have seen played an important part in the history of the Korana, had little influence on the physical conformation of the Links tribe. They mixed, indeed, but the mixture seems to have affected the Bantu more than it did the Links branch of the Korana, for it is plain to see from their general appearance that the Batlaping have a good deal of Kora blood in them (see passim historical review, p. 127). The Bantu has been submerged in these "Hottentots."

1. *External Appearance*

Data on external appearance are of some value as indications of what we may expect to find from measurements, especially as they are scattered through the earlier literature from which measurements are absent. Take skin colour. The range of variation of this character in the

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

present-day Korana of the Links tribe alone is clear evidence for the mixed ancestry of these people. In this respect some are indistinguishable from the dark brown (almost black) of the Bantu, others retain the original yellowish-brown colouring of the Hottentot so well depicted by Daniell (26). 127 142

Most of those examined were yellow-brown to dark brown in colour. Some, but not many, showed the reddish tinge which Fritsch considers to be especially common among the Korana: "*Sein auch konnen rötlichen variatäten haufger bei den Koranna vorals sonst, ohne dass gerade der Verdacht einer Beimischung fremden Blutes ersichtlich zu sein brauchte.*" (27).

According to him they are very similar in skin colour to other Hottentots, i.e. "a muddy, yellow-brown (fahler, gelb-brauner Hautfarbe) —Nos. 4 and 5 of his skin colour tables, but on the whole somewhat darker ("*etwas dunkler.*") No. 6 is the yellow tint noticeably tinged with red, which he says is more often seen among the Korana. His tables, however, do not show quite enough yellow in their background to correspond exactly with the shades seen in the skin of living Hottentots observed by myself except for very dark individuals showing traces of Bantu admixture. One still sees to-day Korana of very light coloration. There were many more light coloured Korana formerly. Fritsch himself says that the Hottentots were originally light coloured. This we see in Daniell's pictures of Korana subjects painted in 1801. He again has a shade too much yellow in his pictures to portray Korana of the present-day, but we are entitled to assume that his drawings represent accurately what the average Korana looked like 150 years ago when most of them showed the Hottentot features regarded as typical by him.

That Truter and Somerville (loc. cit.), both members of the same expedition as Daniell, described the Korana of this period as very mixed is not inconsistent with Daniell's portrayal of Korana types. It is justifiable to presume that he would choose for that portrayal those subjects who were most typical of the people he was dealing with. 127 144

Most descriptions up to 1872 (cf. Burchell, Anderson loc. cit.) agree in calling the Korana light-coloured. Then again Holub (22) in 1872 says that they vary in complexion from "dull black to deep brown," and in another place he speaks of the "yellow-brown countenances of the Korana." Two such contradictory statements may mean anything and it is best to rely on the careful observations of Fritsch who, at the same date as we have seen, thinks them not unlike other Hottentots in skin-colour. 127 142

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

144 Hence although we cannot be sure just when the impurity of the Korana owing to mixture was first noted in their external features, we can put it approximately at the beginning of the 19th century.

142 144 Nearly all the subjects examined showed signs of " Bush " admixture in their external appearance—rather dark in colour, but not so dark as the Bantu, short in stature, with small hands and feet, the typical peppercorn arrangement of the hair, wrinkled face with high cheek-bones and square angular outline, with little prognathism when seen in profile, and the lips not unduly thickened. Steatopygia was present in all the women seen, with the exception of one who was of mixed Griqua-Korana descent.

142 Two individuals, a man and a woman, were not so characteristically Bushman in appearance. They were light complexioned, but taller with comparatively large heads. The man (No. 6) had a well-developed supra-orbital torus, but the measurements taken show that he also had " Bush " characters.

127 142 Fritsch clearly recognises the complex of Bush and Bantu elements in the Boshof Korana. He differentiates two types, one fairly tall and well-built, the original " Hottentot " type, and the other small, misshapen, approaching more nearly to the Bushman in appearance. He also describes a type due to the admixture of Bantu blood : " Auch *Kafferblut ist in jetziger Zeit wohl in betrachtlicher Menge unter ihnen vertreten*," giving as an example of this last *Zwart Jaan*, chief of the Boshof Korana. Except for the darkening of skin colour in some of them, Bantu characteristics are not conspicuously shown in the members of the Links tribe examined.

2. *Skeletal Characteristics*

127 Only three workers have hitherto published data concerning the skeletal characteristics of supposed Korana. Fritsch (1872) (27) only gives details of two skulls and two skeletons from Boshof which may or may not be Korana. Shrubsall (1897) (33) does not go into the subject very fully, he contents himself with touching on a few points in which Korana skulls of uncertain origin, as he himself admits (30), differ slightly from other " Hottentots," presumably he says, because of Bantu influence. Lastly, Broom (1923) (1), whose material from graves (not confirmed as those of Korana) is doubtful, if Dreyer is to be believed (34). Allen's Australoid skull from Mistkraal (8) is, of course, not Korana, because the Korana were never known to be in the neighbourhood of Port Elizabeth. The possession of Australoid features is not necessarily a characteristic of

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

143 This may be explained in terms of heredity. There is unpublished evidence (by Mr. L. H. Wells of the Witwatersrand University Department of Anatomy) in regard to the brain in hybrids between Bushman and Bantu, to show that " Bush " features act as Mendelian dominants while the Bantu characters of convolution and general form are recessive.

144 On the other hand the apparent lack of Bantu features among the Links may be explained by the following considerations.

The Bechuana took Korana women for wives[1], but there is no proof that the Korana took Bechuana women for wives[2] to any large extent. The children of a Bechuana father and a Korana mother were naturally incorporated within the Bantu tribe. Hence the extensive Korana admixture in the Batlaping tribe. Similarly the Korana took Bush women for wives, but we do not know that Bushmen took Korana women for wives.

Hence we may suppose that the Bechuana became, as it were, " Korana-ised," and the Links Bushmanised but not " Bantu-ised."

We are thus led to the conclusion that to-day the Links division of the Korana are most akin to the Bushman in structure. We cannot say with certainty what they were like physically in former times. They may always have presented the features which they now present, i.e. they may always have belonged to the " Bush type." On the other hand they may not, and this latter seems to be the more logical conclusion in view of the fact that the earlier portrayals and descriptions that we have of the Korana, show us persons unlike either Bushman or Bantu in appearance, and this argument is strengthened by the discovery of such, even if isolated, persons in our own times.

But it must be remembered that the distinction drawn in the above paragraph applies only to external appearance; we do not yet know whether it is reflected in the skeletal characteristics of such " Hottentot " types, and I must, for the present, agree with Dart that as far as these particular Hottentots are concerned " investigations have not " as yet " revealed any means of separating the Bushman from the Hottentot physically."

Finally, it should be pointed out that the conclusions arrived at here cannot be considered final for the other Korana tribes until further investigations by the same method as has been used here, have been carried out on a larger number of subjects than was available at the time.

---

[1] See historical section.

[2] One such case occurred among the subjects examined. Another case has been recorded by J. Schmidt in the B.M.B. 1851, p. 123.

12: Maingard D-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

This sketch is only a stepping-stone which, it is hoped, will lead to further somatometrical research not only upon the Korana but the other living races and tribes of South Africa—a subject the fringe of which has so far only been touched.

D. SUMMARY

1. The work of earlier writers on Korana anthropology is reviewed and criticised. So far there has been considerable theoretical discussion and insufficient investigation of known Koranas.

(2) Historical evidence is adduced to show that the Korana, once described as "pure Hottentots," are now extensively infiltrated with Bush and Bantu elements.

(3) The external appearance of eleven members of the Links tribe of Korana is briefly discussed and is also shown to point to racial impurity.

(4) The available skeletal characteristics of Links Korana are discussed. This group is shown to be mainly of "Bush type" in these respects.

(5) There is no evidence apart from the effects of this extensive admixture with Bush and Bantu, that the Korana differ appreciably from other "Hottentots" in skeletal characteristics.

(6) The matter of nomenclature is discussed. Faulty nomenclature and methods of research have, up to now, led to confusion in this subject. The importance of field work and the necessity for exact identification of the material under examination is emphasised.

E. REFERENCES

(1) *Broom, R.* 1923. A contribution to the craniology of the Yellow-skinned races of South Africa. J.R.A.I. LIII. p. 132.

(2) *Broom, R.* 1923. The Natives of South Africa. Natural History, XXIII, 3.

(3) *Broom, R.* 1929. Australoid element in the Korana. Nature, CXXIV, 3127, p. 507.

(4) *Dreyer, T. F. & Lyle, A.* 1929. New Fossil mammals and man from South Africa.

(5) *Drennan, M. R.* 1925 An Australoid skull from the Cape Flats, J.R.A.I. LIX, pp. 417-26.